Newsletter of
THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT
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Who Are the Real Elitists?

"After ten years of doubt and passionate intensity . . . the center has held . . . the American center is a place of thorough and orderly progress; it is where the true social democracy lies." —*Midge Decter*

A new political cult is emerging. Numerous deradicalized —in fact deliberalized—intellectuals are finding in the supposed wisdom of that "great mass of ordinary Americans" justification for their own retreat from the values of the left. In chorus with such theoreticians as Spiro Agnew, George Wallace and John Connally, this deradicalized elite howls to the four winds that the affluent "limousine liberals" of the New Politics have supported the New Left, scoffed at the mores and values of the American people, and attempted to foist their leader, George McGovern, upon us all.

Now with the defeat of the allegedly isolationist and elitist "New Politics," we are told, the "center has held" and "orderly progress" can now go on. We see the Nixon victory in a less rosy light. We see disarray on the left, a new aggressiveness on the right and little "progress" either orderly or disorderly.

The "limousine liberal" was certainly an actor on the late 1960's scene. Strutting around the cocktail party circircuit with a verbal militancy, even a rhetoric of the "revolution," the armchair insurgent was alien to our politics of democratic radicalism. We resisted radical chic and limousine liberalism, to say nothing of the nihilistic trends of the New Left. But all those trends are dead now, and we derive no satisfaction from gloating over their demise.

For limousine liberalism and New Left frenzy have been replaced not by the politics of a rational, humane and demodemocratic left, but by the budget-slashing, anti-union, sophisticated right. Contrary to the proclamations of the "Coalition for a Democratic Majority" and Ms Decter, the center has not held. It is in a state of disarray about as bad as that of the left. While the crude conservativism of Barry Goldwater has been repudiated, the sophisticated conservatism of Richard Nixon rules. It is a conservatism which well serves the interests of corporate wealth while showing real "insensitivity to the needs, wishes and aspirations of ordinary people."

In short, the critics of the "New Politics" are infected with the malady they decry—an excessive concern with the politics of style. For the chic radical, the militancy of a Black Panther was more exciting than the mundane achievements of mainstream civil right organizations. For the new conservatives (even those who call themselves social democrats), the Middle American posture of Rich-

(Continued on page 2)

"Take the Rich Off Welfare"

As you rush to the post office this April 16th, to mail your income tax at the last minute, you might notice a slightly larger than usual crowd. But at least some of them won't be crowding up to the postal windows to send their returns to the IRS. They'll be out to send a different message to Washington: "we want tax justice now." Or, in the words of Fred Harris, "Take the rich off welfare." Harris, a former Senator, has organized the tax protest rallies under the auspices of the People's Campaign for Tax Action. The rallies outside post offices on April 16 will mark only a beginning for the new populist group. Harris hopes to build an organization of grass roots activists to counter the powerful lobbies which defend tax privileges.

The Tax Action Campaign recently opened in Chicago with a rally dishonoring Shell Oil Company as "tax avoider" of the week. The crowd assembled for the rally portends well for the new populism espoused by Harris. Several major unions and a number of former McGovern volunteers turned out for the demonstration. Even some of the Daley organization aldermen were there.

Doctor Nixon Gouges the Sick

Conventional economic wisdom has it that the more people have to pay the less they buy. Thus, when Nixon's 1973 budget cutters spotted an increasing cost-overrun for Medicare, Nixon had only to turn to our economic thinkers for a cure—charge the recipients more! After all, he could argue, while the present programs include measures for "cost-awareness," they just aren't strong enough.

Currently, Medicare recipients must pay a monthly premium totaling $67.20 a year. The first $50.00 of physicians' fees and 20% of the remainder comes out of the patients' pockets. If hospitalized, they pay $68.00 for the first sixty days, $17 a day for the next thirty, and $34.00 a day for

(Continued on page 7)

Walking the Picket Line

FOR THE FIRST time in American labor history, health and industrial safety issues have sparked a major strike. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers have called a strike against the Shell Oil Company for refusing to bargain on the issues of workplace environment. A. F. Grospiron, President of the OCAW, explains that Shell, one of the world's two largest oil companies, refused even to talk about health and safety demands when all the other major oil companies complied with union safety demands. A coalition of fifteen environmental organizations, recognizing that the workplace is the environment of millions of workers for eight hours a day, have supported the strike and boycott. OCAW is asking its supporters not to buy Shell gasoline for the duration of the strike, and to return Shell credit cards with a note expressing support for the striking oil workers.

UFW PRESIDENT CESAR CHAVEZ and a contingent of California farm workers (strikers from the lettuce fields of the D'Arrigo brothers—a grower who originally signed a contract with the farm workers, but has refused to renew) toured the country to build support for the boycott. After the tour, groups of California farm workers settled in New York, Boston and Chicago to carry on picketing and educational activities for the boycott. In addition to picketing A&P, the nation's largest buyer of non-union iceberg lettuce, farm workers are picketing the Hunts Point produce terminal in New York daily.

A new factor may boost the boycott. The Federal Food and Drug Administration announced that shipments of non-union lettuce to major East Coast produce terminals (Rochester, N.Y., Buffalo, N.Y. and Chelsea, Mass.) were contaminated. The pesticide in question, Monitor 4, is similar to nerve gas and in large enough quantities can be fatal while in smaller doses it produces flu-like symptoms. Since UFW contracts forbid pesticide treatment of crops (to protect the pickers as well as consumers) only union label lettuce from the Imperial Valley in California is guaranteed to be safe.

Inside the Unions

By Jim Dooley

Chicago's labor circles are buzzing over the close contest for the Directorship of the Chicago-Indiana district of the Steelworkers. Most of us were amazed by the strong showing of Eddie Sadlowski, young challenger of the Germano administration. Though the election was held weeks ago (February 13), we still don't know who won, and we probably won't know until May 1, when the International Tellers committee makes its report.

Now we've got a strange scene—both Sam Evett, whom retiring Director Germano supports, and Ed Sadlowski, who's a young International staffer, have claimed victory. Unofficial returns show Eddie ahead in the large locals, including Evett's home local, which Sadlowski was not expected to win. Evett appears to have carried the smaller locals and the new District 50.

To make things even more complicated, Sadlowski has charged that there was widespread election fraud. Eddie is appealing to the Tellers committee to throw out some ballots on the grounds that there was "stuffing of ballots, casting of more ballots than the number of members voting, electioneering by . . . opponent's supporters in polling places, and denying members the right to vote in secret."

Sadlowski says he'll appeal to the National Labor Relations Board if his charges are turned down by the Tellers Committee. Of course, the NLRB rarely backs insurgents in disputed elections, except when murder is involved. If the NLRB turns him down, Eddie will go to court. And if he loses there, and is discharged from his staff job, he has vowed to go back to work in the mills, to continue his fight.

We were surprised by how close the contest was because the Germano administration always seemed so powerful: it had a lot of clout in Illinois and Indiana politics, and always returned overwhelming majorities for its choices in International elections, first for McDonald, then for Abel. Eddie' slogan "Elect a Steelworker" (Evett never worked in a mill) must have stuck better than Evett's charge that Eddie was a "radical" (Eddie worked against the war and for open housing.) Other than that, there weren't really many issues, since both candidates called for greater membership participation, and Eddie didn't attack the Meany-Abel "neutrality" position.

No matter how the election turns out, labor in Chicago will stay shaken up for quite a while. Nobody here thinks that Nixon's victory will quiet things down inside the unions, any more.

The Real Elitists

(Continued from page 1)

ard Nixon was more important than the reactionary consequences of his continued rule.

Yet beyond the politics of style we see continuing struggles in this country over the distribution of wealth, the quality of social services, the uses of governmental and corporate power. As we seek to advance those struggles, we see a clear enemy. Despite their increasing sophistication, it's the corporate rich and the society they dominate who remain the chief obstacle to social progress. We suggest a "new" slogan—Beware the Cadillac Conservatives, and their intellectual simonizers.

Jack Clark

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Fighting the Multinationals — Toward Labor Internationlism?

By Michael Harrington

The internationalism of the working class is a socialist dream which almost never came true. Now, however, there may be a powerful new force working to make it a reality: the multinational corporation. This is one of the trends visible in the recent international monetary crisis.

The multinationals, as the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF) defined them in 1971:

> follow a policy of . . . buying human labor and raw materials in the cheapest markets and selling the products to consumers everywhere at prices reflecting the "price-leadership" or outright collusion characteristic of oligopoly. . . . By decisions affecting the international allocation of investment and production, they can frustrate national economic planning, including planning influenced by trade union activists. In all too many cases, they display an affinity for repressive regimes and dictatorships that deny workers the right to organize.

The international monetary crisis of 1973 focused attention upon the multinationals. They have become so huge that, simply following the dictates of "normal business practice, they helped to subvert the agreements made by supposedly sovereign national powers at the Smithsonian Conference in 1971.

Consider just a few facts as documented by the U.S. Tariff Commission in a study published last February.

At the end of 1971, the multinationals had $268 billion in short term liquid assets, "all managed by private persons and traded in private markets virtually uncontrolled by official institutions anywhere," a sum which was more than twice that held by all the central banks and international monetary institutions. This treasury is utilized according to the system of "International Monetary Management" in which monies are shifted on the basis of a worldwide computer network. When there is a run on the dollar, or any other currency, these private corporations can influence the market more than the Federal Reserve, the Bank of England or, for that matter, the governments of the world.

Indeed, the Tariff Commission estimates that a shift of 1% of the multinational assets is "quite sufficient to produce a first-class international financial crisis."

Perhaps the most dramatic statement of the multinationals' character came in an extraordinary analogy by the Tariff Commission. It said that their "planning and subsequent monitoring of plan fulfillment have reached a scope and level of detail that, ironically, resemble more than superficially the national planning procedures of Communist countries." The Commission even referred to the international headquarters where the decisions are made as "the Kremlin."

The multinationals export capital, technology and jobs. As the AFL-CIO Executive Council commented at its midwinter meeting this year, "U.S. corporations and banks put profits ahead of patriotism, selling the country's currency in order to make swift profits for themselves." Andrew Biemiller, the Federation's chief lobbyist, told the Senate Finance Committee last month that McDonnell-Douglas is selling an entire rocket and missile launch system to the Japanese.

Part of American labor's response to this challenge has been, of course, a turn to protectionism. The Hartke-Burke Bill contains some features supported—and rightly so—by all unions: putting an end to the tax subsidies provided by the Government to the multinationals. But Hartke-Burke also contains a "sliding door" provision which would establish a guaranteed share of the American market for American goods. The AFL-CIO supports that proposal vigorously; the Auto Workers do not. But both the AFL-CIO and the UAW agree on another line of attacking the problem, one which looks toward an internationalist solution of the crisis.

As a result of the growing power of the multinationals, the various secretariats of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) are becoming much more active. With Ford and GM operating on a global basis, it is possible for the companies to break strikes by switching production from nation to nation. The unions are therefore forced to international action. As the *Economist* put it in 1971, "the multinational companies will be their own worst enemies. . . . Workers are increasingly identifying themselves as, say, 'Ford' workers, irrespective of what national subsidiary of Ford they work in. Thus increasingly the demand for parity of work conditions and reward between the international branches of the same multinational will become a spontaneous one."

(Continued on page 4)

Of Old Salts and New Fights

Few newspapers have looked beneath the retirement of National Maritime Union president Joseph Curran, but it's a fair guess the struggle in the NMU is of interest to other union chieftains. Sure, Curran's $1 million retirement package makes good copy. Associated Press labor editor Neil Gilbride did some digging and found Joe getting almost double the benefits GM chairman James Roche received during his first year of retirement. Three NMU members have challenged the pension in court, charging that Curran has been virtually retired for years.

Meanwhile, Curran's long-time nemesis — James M. Morrissey — has filed a suit that could have more lasting implications for the labor movement. The victorious Mine Workers insurgents won equal space in the union paper and impartial ballot counting only after the courts overturned the 1969 election. Morrissey has gone to court asking for these same guarantees—*before* this spring's NMU elections. A working seaman, he cites the unfairness of traditional NMU election procedures, including the regular conversion of the *Pilot* into a Curran campaign sheet. The outcome of Morrissey's race against Curran's handpicked successor, Shannon Wall, hinges on the decision since the insurgent regularly carries the New York port and loses elsewhere by Albanian-sized margins.

Toward International Labor Solidarity

(Continued from page 3)

In February of this year, the European Trade Union Confederation was formed in Brussels at a meeting attended by 17 union federations from 15 countries representing 29 million workers, about a third of all workers in West Europe. And the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF), of which Leonard Woodcock of the UAW is President, has been proposing bold measures to deal with the multinationals.

"Trade," Woodcock told the Japanese Auto Workers Federation last October, "is far too important to us to be left to traders. We must inject our countervailing powers into the multinational equation. Our needs for world-wide harmonized labor contracts will not be realized until some order is established in world trade."

The key to this approach is for national unions to fight to raise wages in low-wage countries. Thus Burt Seidman, the AFL-CIO social security director and the Worker Delegate from this country at the International Labor Organization demanded that the ILO establish a "good conduct" code for multinationals in their treatment of workers.

The UAW—and the International Metalworkers Federation—have done excellent work in detailing such an approach to the multinationals. Nat Weinberg, the union's special projects director, described the program succinctly at a Washington meeting last May. The UAW proposes:

- an effective full employment policy with real adjustment assistance for any worker laid off because of international trade shifts;
- an international legal code to protect worker's rights;
- American licensing of any capital exports from this country under which the licensee is required to compensate in full American workers laid off by the overseas investment *and* to to treat workers in the foreign country to which the money is being sent according to defined, minimal standards (this provision is based upon existing Swedish law);
- making currency speculation by American multinationals a crime;
- forcing American oligopolies to compete when foreign importers invade this country's markets (the auto corporations just didn't bother to respond to the challenge for about a decade).

The point is that there is an internationalist, union program which the AFL-CIO, the UAW, and the ICFTU Secretariat have adopted, in whole or in part. Obviously those American unions which are being mauled in the short run —the electrical workers (IUE), the clothing workers (the ILGWU and ACWA), the textile workers, etc.—need immediate and emergency aid. But it would be tragic if the defense of the standards of American workers were counterposed to the needs of foreign, and particularly Third World, workers. And there are abundant signs in the American labor movement that internationalism may well be a practical necessity.

The moment is, I think, historic. The rise of the multinationals, and the role they played in the monetary crisis, are forcing trade unionists and liberals to realize that there must be structural changes in the world market itself. Leonard Woodcock told the 2nd Asian Regional Conference of the Metalworkers that "future generations will look at our movement as a watershed of international social progress, for it carries forth the long-delayed 19th century dream of a world-wide labor movement dedicated to the establishment of social and economic equity among all peoples."

The labor, socialist and liberal movements of the first part of this century had to struggle to impose minimal codes upon the national corporations in areas like wages, working conditions, safety, child labor. Now, those very same movements are going to have to subject the multinationals to democratic and social controls. The American press has thus far seen only the protectionist response. But the labor internationalism now demanded of the world's workers may well be the historic trend. The "long-delayed dream," ironically, may have been placed upon the agenda by the multinational corporation.

Viva NDC

By David Bensman

Walking over to the New Democratic Coalition convention on a rainy Saturday morning (March 3), my thoughts were as gloomy as the weather. I just couldn't see how New York liberals could unite behind a viable candidate. I expected Congressman Badillo to win NDC's nomination, but couldn't see him getting support from enough non-NDC liberals to win the Mayoralty.

It was a pleasant surprise when Al Blumenthal, Minority Leader of the New York State Senate, won the nomination. Blumenthal didn't seem all that much better qualified; it was just heartening to see the NDC endorse someone with a chance to win.

Blumenthal won, I think, for three reasons. First, many delegates agreed that Blumenthal had the best chance to become Mayor. Others supported Blumenthal because they hoped he'd give their clubs patronage; many NDC clubs seem to be mostly concerned with their local power, nowadays. And then Blumenthal's campaign was well-organized.

A lot of things about this year's convention seemed different from past ones. The candidates all seemed aware of the need to relate to different ethnic groups and social classes: you didn't hear much talk about "the people." It was a refreshing change to hear delegates talk about finding an electable candidate rather than debate endlessly the details of a program. (They carried this to an unattractive extreme; they didn't bother adopting any program at all.) I also sensed much less confidence in the strength of liberalism; people seemed to accept the notion that New Yorkers are more conservative now, so it's no use presenting grand programs for social reconstruction.

Satisfaction with the results was shattered almost at once. Within hours of the balloting, Carl Stokes, reporting on WNBC-News, called NDC's actions, racist, right-wing and hypocritical. The spanish-language press and *New York Times* echoed his theme. It looked like Blumenthal's victory wasn't worth the time spent winning it.

As the days passed, that changed. The charge that Badillo lost because of white racism has been recognized as bunk. It's still not clear that Blumenthal has much of a chance against Beame, Biaggi, or Wagner; but the vote-getting ability of the reform clubs will give us a chance.

German Jusos and the Rebirth of the SPD Left

By Scott Singer

(Editor's Note: The Jusos held a Congress after Scott Singer's article was written. They staked out a left socialist position—even the Presidium of the SPD noted that the youth had clearly differentiated themselves from the Communists—and called for an end to the "offset payments" to America for troops stationed in West Germany, and a nuclear free European zone outside of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Unlike the *New York Times,* which reported the Congress as if it were a triumph of the ulta-Left, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* a liberal paper interpreted the event as a victroy for the responsible wing of the Jusos.)

Since 1953 the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD) has grown steadily in electoral strength. In 1953, it received only 28.8% of the Bundestag vote. In the last Federal election, in November, 1972, it received 45.9%. These dramatic gains have generally been attributed to the party's "modernization." Its socialism has been steadily diluted in order to make it more acceptable to middle class voters. The SPD dropped its "class party" label in 1954. In 1959 it adopted the arch-revisionist Godesberg program. And in 1966, it entered a conservative-led coalition government. There is reason to believe, however, that the tide is turning. Even as the SPD becomes the majority party of the late 1970's, it has begun moving slowly leftward.

Party right-wingers have felt uneasy about recent events. In 1971 a Marxist-oriented left wing, centered around the party youth, emerged as a major force within the party. In the same year, leftists and moderates defeated the tax plan of Economics Minister Karl Schiller at a party congress and substituted a more progressive one of their own. Throughout the administration of Willy Brandt, right-wingers have defected to the Opposition, voicing disapproval of his Ostpolitik and claiming that the SPD was reverting to class struggle ideology. In July, 1972 Schiller resigned.

Some critics had suggested that the SPD was doomed when the Jusos (the SPD youth group, the Young Socialists) began airing their differences with the party. Their advocacy of class struggle and socialism made the entire SPD fair game for Opposition red-baiters. Election analysts were ready to bury the social-democrats seeking re-election in November, after Schiller resigned. With him gone and the Jusos on the loose (though somewhat subdued for election time), the SPD's painstaking image of respectability appeared in danger. Moreover, a growing inflation made it hard for the SPD to pose as skillful managers of capitalism.

The SPD 1972 election program did not, in fact, claim that the socialists could produce a new "economic miracle." Instead, the party appealed to the voters to suport a reform program designed to improve the "quality of life." The school system would have to be revamped. Workers would be given a voice in the management of corporations through industrial co-determination. The tax structure would be re-formed. City planning would be facilitated through the revision of laws governing property rights. And new steps would be taken to protect the environment. Often, Brandt indicated, the quality of life would be improved by expansion of the public sector rather than private consumption.

The results of the November election indicated broad support for the SPD's policies, as well as the great personal popularity of Willy Brandt. "Respectability" proved to be much less important. But Brandt's leftist critics point out that it is easier to promise an improved quality of life than to achieve it. In particular, when socialists commit themselves to preservation of the market economy and social ownership is for the most part precluded, how can they place public needs above private profit? The social democrats are apt to find themselves, suggests Joachim Steffen, the leftist Schleswig-Holstein party leader, in the position of a "surgeon who wants to operate on an appendix with a pincer."

The Marxism of Steffen and the like-minded Young Socialists bears little resemblance to the ideas of those aging party leaders who sought to preserve the SPD's Marxist facade against the onslaught of Brandt's revisionists in the late 1950's. New Left ideology, and the strategical formulations of Andre Gorz have in some cases left their mark. Mass mobilization is seen as a necessary means of counteracting the extra-parliamentary clout of big business. Reforms ought to be of a "system-changing" nature, that is, designed to facilitate an eventual transition from capitalism to socialism. In this light, co-determination is seen not as an end in itself, but as a stop-off point at which workers can prepare themselves for the time when their control of the means of production will be more complete.

It is exceedingly unlikely that that this perspective will be adopted by the SPD in the near future. But it is also a mistake to see the Young Socialists as a lunatic fringe of German politics. Most Jusos are not prone to "verbal-revolutionary acrobatics." Hard-core "verbal-revolutionary acrobats" are far more likely to find homes among the campus sects which specialize in that sort of thing. Jusos are dedicated socialists, students and workers, many of whom campaigned tirelessly for the victory of their party in 1972. They will also work for their point of view within the party. They have created at least the possibility that their ideas will one day be translated into reality.

Now that the election is over, the social-democrats will certainly be spending a great deal of energy on fratricidal warfare. Its intensity is likely to be heightened by the fact that Ostpolitik, which was the major concern of Brandt's first administration is no longer an issue. Domestic policy, far more controversial within the SPD, is now the major concern of the government. The 40-odd leftist Deputies will serve as a counterweight to the cautious liberals (the 42-seat liberal Free Democratic Party is the coalition partner of the SPD, which has 240 of the 495 seats).

A major battle is shaping up for the special party congress this month, at which a new program will be adopted. The Young Socialists will probably propose that the door be reopened for future nationalizations. It is unlikely that they will win. Chances are, this and future SPD governments will concentrate on the extension of public benefits and services. With the support of the labor movement, they will move toward a welfare state on the Swedish model.

The Myth of "Discrimination in Reverse"

By Gertrude Ezorsky

The New York City Commission on Human Rights, in July, 1972, found Pace College guilty of a "pattern and practice" of sex discrimination. Accordingly, the Commission ordered that the complainant, Dr. Valentine Winsey, who had been denied tenure, be reinstated, with back pay plus damages for "mental pain and humiliation."

The Commission's decision was immediately denounced by a Pace instructor, W. J. Adams, as the kind of "government interference" which may destroy "the quality of higher education." He reported the Commission's "logic" as follows:

> if a college faculty consists of x males and y females and x is greater than y, then a pattern and practice of discrimination against women exists at the college. Furthermore, if Ms A is a female faculty member at said college, it follows that she is a victim of sex discrimination. *(New York Times,* July 22, 1972, Letter to the Editor)

What was the basis of the Commission's ruling? In 1972, Pace had a faculty of 229; 131 of the 180 men had tenure (73%); only 8 of the 49 women had tenure (17%). Of the 8 tenured women, four were hired after Dr. Winsey filed her complaint.

The Commission, additionally, found evidence of prejudiced attitudes toward women by administrators. E. g., one chairman openly said he didn't like to hire women because they became pregnant. Finally, the Commission noted that Pace "has failed to offer an adequate explanation for the disparity of statistics between male and female faculty." Not surprisingly, the Commission concluded that Pace was guilty of a "pattern and practice" of sex discrimination.

> Sex discrimination in academia is hardly limited to the Pace Colleges of this land. In fact, Pace might have defended itself by claiming it was trying to emulate Harvard.
>
> Harvard University awards one in five of its doctoral degrees to women, but a few years ago, before "interference" by government bureaucrats and organized women—particularly NOW (the National National Organization for Women) — the Harvard Graduate Arts and Sciences Faculty was 100% male.

According to Scholar Adams, the Commission, after finding a pattern of discrimination, concluded that *therefore,* Dr. Winsey was a discrimination victim.

Not at all.

The Commission stated that "if her termination was adequately explained by Pace, any inference of discrimination against her would be rebutted. Pace did not "adequately explain" Ms Winsey's termination; it could not. (Dr. Winsey's Dean had praised her teaching highly and characterized her as "extraordinarily competent and hardworking.") Instead, Pace fell back on the explanation that she was a "troublemaker," basing this charge on her decision to appeal her denial of promotion.

Scholar Adams complains: "a government agency is imposing sex as a criterion for status. . . . Professional decisions . . . must be left to the profession itself and made on the basis of competence alone."

But Pace had been "left alone" for many years, during which it had used sex, not competence, as a criterion for professional status. The Commission ordered the new tenure procedure so that women would no longer be denied tenure because of their sex. The Commission insisted that half of the tenure committee be women because it believed that it could not presume that male faculty at Pace would act free of sex bias, given their record.

Pace's treatment of Dr. Winsey is by no means a rare phenomenon. Dozens of professional status of women reports show that, in general, academic women (like their working sisters throughout society) are kept at the bottom, in salary, rank, and institutional standing. Moreover, it seems that more qualified women are more likely to experience discrimination. According to Astin in her survey of women Ph.D.'s *(The Woman Doctorate in America),* of the women Ph.D.'s she surveyed, those highest in professional achievements turned up as the same ones who reported sex discrimination experiences.

But, until recently, women had practically no legal protection against the clout of employer bias. Only "government interference" by the Commission on Human Rights stopped Pace College from successfully slamming the door on an "extraordinarily competent" woman instructor. Those who worry about "government interference" in quality higher education should note that without such interference we have every reason to believe that the future will resemble the past.

POLITICS MAKES STRANGE BEDPERSONS, as the struggle continues for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.), forbidding discrimination on the basis of sex. According to the script, this is supposedly a fight with the liberals on one side (supporting the amendment) and the conservatives and reactionaries on the other. Yet, the usually progressive AFL-CIO opposes the amendment, while a number of employer organizations are for it. The labor world itself is divided, with the UAW, the Teamsters, the IUE, the Communications Workers, the Butchers and Meatcutters and the Teachers supporting E.R.A. But it's not a left-right division in the labor ranks, either—the ILGWU (with a large female membership) and the Machinists, both strong McGovern unions, oppose the amendment. Like other unions in opposition, they fear the loss of protective legislation for women. For this reason, Myra Wolfgang of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, perhaps organized labor's most vocal feminist, also opposes E.R.A. Some of the amendment's other opponents include Richard Nixon, the John Birch Society and the Communist Party, USA. Despite this broad opposition, the E.R.A. is likely to be enacted, since it is of more vital concern to its supporters than to its opponents. Twenty-nine states have ratified E.R.A. so far and the advocates of the amendment have another six years to round up the votes in the other nine states necessary for approval.

Auto Workers Wonder: What'll It Be in Phase 3

By Carl Shier

DETROIT — In mid-July, the United Automobile Workers will sit down in Detroit with representatives from the major auto companies to begin a two month long process of hammering out a contract. Two weeks later, UAW negotiators will bring their demands before the giant farm and construction equipment corporations. As in past years, the Auto Workers should be a pace setter for collective bargaining in all industries. This year's negotiations will also mark a major test of President Nixon's Phase Three stabilization program.

We are preparing for the coming contract battles well in advance. Pre-bargaining conferences of production workers were held in Atlanta and New Orleans in February; the final Collective Bargaining Convention, where the union demands are actually drawn up, takes place in late March in Detroit. The shape of our concerns is apparent even at this early stage.

The cost of living clause in the UAW contract has required a 28 cent hourly raise since the last negotiations. This has been at least a partial buffer against runaway food costs, and many workers feel that the clause offers real protection against inflation. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, whose cost of living figures indicate necessary wage hikes, has been moved by the Nixon Administration from the Labor Department to the Commerce Department. Many unionists no longer trust the Bureau's figures on inflation and the cost of living. Therefore, we shall demand as a priority retention of the cost of living escalator and an improvement in its formula.

The UAW will continue one theme of the 1970 negotiations—the emotional "thirty and out" slogan. Presently, the companies require thirty years service and a retirement age of 56. The union will again demand that thirty years service be the only condition for retirement with full benefits. The reluctance of those eligible for retirement to use the present plan complicates matters. With inflation, $500 a month is no longer an attractive retirement income; nor is raising the amount to $600 or $650 monthly a real solution. Nevertheless, raising basic lifetime retirement benefits will be a major issue at the negotiating table.

Voluntary overtime in the auto industry will be another prime issue. At the pre-bargaining conferences, it is the issue which drew the greatest rank and file response. The auto industry must no longer hide behind "exceptional" production needs—i.e., rushing new models to the dealers. Such previously won benefits as short week-full pay for workers sent home due to parts shortages have rarely been paid due to better planning methods. Workers want and deserve the right to say whether they work overtime.

A further important and controversial issue in the negotiations will be plant safety. The right to shut down an unsafe machine, to eliminate dangerous chemicals from the plants, to have various hazards checked regularly, and to reduce unbearable noise in the shops—all these issues will be on the agenda for a long time to come. The international has indicated that it will authorize local strikes over safety and health issues after the contract is signed.

In any bargaining situation, three general factors determine a union's success: 1) the economic picture; 2) the strength of the union and the support it draws from its own membership; and 3) the political climate. In the auto industry corporate profits have soared to record levels. Meanwhile, solidarity in the shops is impressive.

However, the political climate is *not* good. The Nixon Administration is lining up policies against workers. As we prepare for the bargaining table, we wonder—what does Phase Three mean? Will there be, as hinted by the *Wall Street Journal,* a Phase Four of new controls before the auto contract is signed? And will prices ever stop climbing?

Dr. Dick Kicks the Sick

(Continued from page 1)

the final sixty days. Enough, indeed, to make an elderly person think twice about getting sick! With the 1973 budget proposal, $700 million a year in medical and hospital bills will be shifted from the Treasury onto our nation's aged population. If illness and disease then respond in a rational and economic fashion, people will get sick less, and hence, seek medical care less!

But whose cost-consciousness must be raised? Consider the facts:

- A well-regarded study of the distributional effects of Medicare and Medicaid indicates that, between 1966 and 1968, recipients received $490 per household for the *two* years under review
- During that same period, physicians averaged a net after-tax gain of between $5400 and $7400 over what they would have earned without these programs
- Only 46 percent of the money tagged for the elderly recipients actually was spent on them.

Although the Nixon administration would have us believe otherwise, there is a better way to keep cost overrun down without burdening the elderly. Establish a Phase Four For Physicians: a schedule of fees allowable for treating various ailments. Milton Roemer, a respected health expert, puts the case well:

> It should simply be realized that the vast majority of medical expenses are determined by the doctor, not the patient, and there is no evidence that cost sharing selectively discourages the unnecessary and the not needed services. This is quite aside from the unequal weight of cost sharing on persons of different wealth, and its administrative awkwardness.

Complementary cost control devices are available. For example, financial incentives and penalties can be used to foster more efficient forms of medical care organizations and practice procedures.

This battle (or non-battle) over cost control under Medicare is mirrored in the recent skirmishes surrounding national health insurance proposalsfor all citizens. Already, the best features of the Kennedy-Griffiths bill threaten to be eroded by conservative cost-consciousness. That's an unhealthy sign for the ill in America.

Ronnie Steinberg Ratner

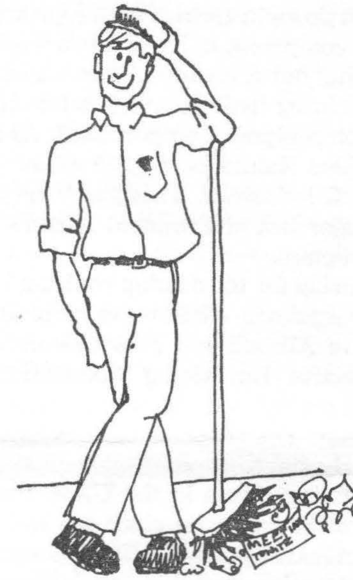
Jimmy Higgins Reports...

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL of the oil industry is the goal of Tom Macres, Long Island's leading environmentalist. Macres, who heads a coalition of environmental groups fighting the Nixon Administration's plans for oil drilling off the coast of Long Island, blames the "energy crisis" on the oil companies themselves. "Their economic and political power have prevented the development of alternative energy sources," according to Macres. He points out that the oil magnates, who dominate the coal industriy, have blocked research into the gassification of coal, a promising source of future cheap energy. Similarly, the political clout of the oil lobby has instituted the oil import quota and prevented the tapping of natural gas from Lake Erie. Macres charges. In calling for "public ownership," Macres stresses that "public control" is the key. "Without real public control, public ownership under government bureaucrats and politicians could be just as bad as the private oil industry."

TEAMSTER PRESIDENT Frank Fitzsimmons may not be taking orders from the President (no one really believes he is), but he is clearly responding to "signals" from the White House. Latest evidence of such "signals"—Fitzsimmons dismissed Edward Bennett Williams as general counsel for the Teamsters, and hired the firm of Morin, Dickstein, Shapiro and Gallagher in his place. Coincidentally, Williams, a Teamster union attorney for fifteen years, has been the counsel for the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate proceedings and Morin, Dickstein, Shapiro and Gallagher now employs former Presidential aide Chuck Colson.

FOR THE FIRST TIME in its history the Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International met in the Americas during February. Representatives of the world's Labor and Social Democratic Parties convened in Santiago, Chile, where Socialist President Salvador Allende Gossens (not a member of the International) greeted the delegates. Chile's Radical Party, a member of Allende's Popular Unity governing coalition and the Chilean affiliate to the International, officially hosted the meeting. Some member parties, notably the Austrians, were wary about meeting in Chile, but did not boycott the meeting.

A REPORTER REFUSES to surrender his notes, and his magazine backs him up. Sounds like another chapter in the battle between the press and the courts. But this time looking over the reporter's shoulder was William Kunstler, "movement" attorney. The story was a *New York* magazine piece about the arrest of H. Rap Brown, a Kunstler client, and the counsellor wanted to see what the reporter had learned. Suing to obtain reporter Daley's notes, Kunstler commented, "I'm no civil libertarian."



AS HARVARD GOES ? ? —Harvard Dean John Dunlop has gone to Washington to solve the nation's economic problems. But apparently, the good Mr. Dunlop has left a sizable labor dispute behind him. Soon after his departure, Harvard graduate teaching assistants were informed by mail that they faced pay cuts for the coming academic year. Graduate school deal Edward Wilcox, when confronted at a protest meeting, placed the blame squarely on Dunlop's shoulders. The tough-talking economist had delayed presenting any budget fures until it was too late to prepare alternatives.

Footnote: a movement to strike by teaching assistants seems likely to flop. A much more substantial strike movement against similar cutbacks last spring fizzled after the leadership injected issues such as Angola into the strike demands.

SOMETHING SOUNDED FAMILIAR when AFL-CIO President George Meany presented his excellent tax reform program to the House Ways and Means Committee last month. In his forthright attacks on the "job" investment credit, and mineral depletion allowances, Meany was correct and consistent. At one point he railed against the "triple standard" by which salaries are taxed in full, income from the sale of stocks is taxed at a much lower rate, and the huge concentrations of wealth are not taxed at all. Good point. But that is also a point raised aggressively last fall by Senator George McGovern in his campaign for the Presidency. One still wonders why Meany declared "neutrality" when faced with a choice between McGovern's tax reform and Nixon's tax injustice.